1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

was both inalienable and impartible. But when partition did actually take place, it was done with the consent of all the members.

Nowadays, occasionally, a Coorg widow who is marrying her dead husband's younger brother is given rights anew in the *okka* of her new husband. This novel custom proceeds from the idea referred to above, that the bride is only given rights in her husband's share of his *okka's* property. It indicates, however, the growing importance of the elementary family among Coorgs.

When, however, the widow wants to marry someone who is not a member of her dead husband's *okka*, her connexion with the latter is first of all ritually broken. She then reverts to her natal *okka*, and at her new marriage her connexion with her natal *okka* is ritually severed, and rights are granted to her in her (new) husband's *okka*.

That is to say, a woman is compensated for the lack of the same quality of rights which a man has in his natal *okka* by the fact that she always enjoys a double membership: she never completely ceases to be a member of her natal *okka*, and at the same time she is a member of her husband's *okka*. She can go back to it under certain circumstances like widowhood or divorce.

Membership of the *okka* is extremely important, and lack of membership in some *okka* or other is tantamount to social extinction. Elders consequently try hard to see that the children of extra-marital alliances get berthed somewhere. It is right and proper that the father of the children should secure them membership of his *okka*, but if for some reason or other he cannot be persuaded to do so, the children are made members of their mother's *okka*.

X

The wife of the headman of the *okka* is the mistress of the household. She is called '*manépaṇikārti*' (house-work-woman). Ideally, all the women in the *okka* have to work under her guidance. The relationship between the various women in the joint family is frequently one of conflict. There is first of all the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, which is celebrated in Coorg and other South Indian folklore as one of conflict. In a society where the sexes are segregated even inside the household and where elders are very highly respected, the mother-in-law,

I:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Formerly every Coorg *okka* had one or more Paleya or other low-caste families attached to it as slaves. This was again an hereditary relationship, and between families and not between individuals.

II

In Coorg the agnatically related males form a corporate body enjoying the bulk of the rights in the *okka*. Men, thanks to patri-locality, are assured of continuous residence in the *okka* to which they belong, whereas the women have to leave their natal *okka* on marriage and become members of their conjugal *okka*. The men have a sense of belonging to the *okka* which is absent in all but the oldest women. A girl has to leave her natal *okka* on marriage, and this break in residential continuity is an important factor having legal and other consequences. It takes a long time[1] for her to be accepted into her conjugal *okka*: only when her children are grown up does she have the assured sense of belonging to her conjugal *okka*.

Sons are the comfort and hope of parents. They are the pillars of the *okka*. They are the means by which the *okka* continues to exist, and the continuity of the *okka* is a matter of the most profound concern to the members. Daughters are destined to leave their natal *okkas* and the children that are born to them enrich and perpetuate a different *okka*.

A woman is not a member of an *okka* in the sense a man is, and the legal rights she enjoys are always inferior to a man's. There are compensations, however. A man enjoys his legal rights in one *okka*, whereas a woman enjoys hers in two, her natal and conjugal *okkas*. A girl is maintained in her natal *okka* till her marriage, or throughout her life if she decides to be a spinster. She has the right to return to her natal *okka* if, for example, her husband is impotent, or suffers from an incurable illness, or if her mother-in-law does not treat her properly. She has a right to return to her natal *okka* if she is divorced, assuming of course that she had not been divorced for a serious offence such as adultery with an Untouchable. Should she be guilty of such an offence she is thrown out of caste irrevocably and this means that she loses her rights in both her natal and her conjugal *okkas*.

At marriage her relatives give her gifts of jewellery, clothes, and vessels. These remain her property, and in the event of her divorce she brings them back to her natal *okka*.

[1] Cross-cousin marriage makes it easier for the girl to be absorbed into her conjugal *okka*.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

'*giving of summanda*'. Sammanda refers to the legal aspect of marriage, whereas *mūrta* refers to the solidarity aspect of it. These two together make up marriage. *Mūrta* has already been discussed at considerable length, and *sammanda* will be considered now.

III

The rights of membership in the groom's *okka* are conferred on the bride at the ritual of *sammanda*. The term *sammanda* is used both to indicate the rights of membership in an *okka* as well as the ritual in which such rights are conferred or withdrawn. The Kodagi term is a corruption of the Sanskrit *sambandha* which means, 'connexion, relation; connexion by marriage, matrimonial alliance, relationship, friendship, intimacy; kinsman; friend; ally'.[1]

Usually, when a person acquires rights of membership in one *okka*, he (or she) by implication loses rights in another *okka*, even though such loss of rights may not be either complete or irrevocable. At an ordinary marriage, for instance, the *sammanda* ritual only confers rights on the bride in the groom's *okka*, but this acquisition of rights in another *okka* implies that the bride loses most of her rights in her natal *okka*. When a wife is divorced, the *sammanda* ritual that is performed severs the divorcée from her conjugal *okka* and she automatically reverts to her natal *okka*. In the case of a widow who wants to marry someone who is not a member of her late husband's *okka*, *sammanda* is first of all performed severing her connexion with her late husband's *okka*. On such ritual severence she reverts to her natal *okka*, and *sammanda* is again performed, conferring on her rights in her new husband's *okka*. Between the loss of rights in her late husband's *okka* and the acquisition of rights in her new husband's *okka*, she is a member of her natal *okka*.

The two most important parts of marriage ritual are *mūrta* (part of *mangala*) and *sammanda*. There are three *mūrtas* in an ordinary marriage, two of which give expression to the solidarity prevalent between the groom or bride and his or her kindred respectively. In the third *mūrta* the creation of the new bond between the bride and groom is recognized by the groom's kindred expressing their solidarity with the bride and the bride's kindred with the groom.

[1] Macdonnell, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 339.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

593 596 585 The two groups of kindred are brought together by the acquisition of two objects of common interest.

While the *mūrta* part of marriage refers to the creation of a new bond between two individuals and the kin-groups in which each of them is born, *sammanda* defines and clarifies the new structural situation which has come into existence. It brings home to the participants that a new legal situation has arisen, that an individual has been transferred from one *okka* to another. *Sammanda* ritual is performed whenever such a structural and legal alteration is brought about. (See 'Table of *Sammanda* Rights' on pp. 173–5.)

1. The *sammanda* ritual performed at *kanni mangala* ('marriage of a virgin'), which is, incidentally, the most frequent type of marriage performed, confers on the bride rights of membership in the groom's *okka*.

[587] 2. (*a*) When a widow wants to marry a brother of the late husband, no fresh *sammanda* need be performed as no new legal situation has come into existence. The girl is a member of the second husband's *okka* even before marriage and she continues to be one after marriage.

593 596 421 178 When a girl marries in the *kanni mangala* way she acquires rights of membership in the *okka* of her husband. This is a simple enough fact, but in recent years the acquisition of property by individuals for themselves and not for their *okkas* has confused the issue. A few educated Coorgs have tried to maintain that a girl, on marriage, acquires only a share in her husband's share of the ancestral property, and consequently, when a widow marries the husband's younger brother, a fresh *sammanda* has to be performed. This is absurd. The whole idea of individual ownership of immovable property is recent in Coorg, and even more important is the fact that *sammanda* is more than the acquisition of rights in property. It is the acquisition of membership in an *okka*, with all its consequences, social, economic, legal, and ritual.

593 596 587 (*b*) When a widow wants to marry someone who is not a member of her late husband's *okka*, she is first of all made to sever her connexion with it, and such severance restores her to her natal *okka*. She is then given *sammanda* in her second husband's house.

[768] (*c*) The children of the widow are (usually) members of their *father's okka* except in certain cases which will be mentioned presently.

593 596 586 3. When a woman is divorced she loses her membership in her

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

conjugal *okka* and reverts to her natal *okka*. Such reversion is automatic and not conditional upon the unanimous consent of the members of her natal *okka*. But if a woman has been divorced for a grave offence, her natal *okka* might decide to have nothing to do with her.

4. Children of unsanctioned unions are referred to as *mai kaṇat makka* and they do not enjoy membership of their father's *okka* as legitimate children do. In fact, they are not members of any *okka*. Usually, however, elders bring pressure on the lover's kindred to the grant of membership for the children in the lover's *okka*. But if this is impossible, the children are made members of their mother's natal *okka*.

If the children of an unsanctioned union and their mother are given membership in the lover's *okka* while both the woman and her lover are still alive it is called *bendu* (relative) *parijé*. If, however, the father dies before the children and their mother have been given *sammanda* in his *okka*, then the elders try to see that *sammanda* is given at least before the corpse is disposed of. Such a belated granting of membership is called *kuṭṭa* (funeral pyre) *parijé*. This enables the widow to take part in the funeral rites.

5. A boy from outside is adopted when there are no agnatic descendants in an *okka*. *Sammanda* is performed, giving the boy in question membership of the heirless *okka*.

6. Adoption is not, however, necessary if there is an unmarried girl (or even the widow of a dead member) in the *okka* without an heir. The girl is then married according to the custom of *okka parijé* by which the children of the marriage become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The man himself ceases to be a member of his natal *okka* and becomes instead a member of his wife's natal *okka*.

The institution of *makka* (children) *parijé* is resorted to when it is impossible to find a man willing to leave his natal *okka* and become a member of the heirless *okka*. *Makka parijé* is a sanctioned union between the daughter of the heirless *okka* and a man who, while remaining a member of his natal *okka* and performing his duties by it, also agrees to raise up seed for the heirless *okka*. He usually stays in his natal home and visits his *makka parijé* 'wife' only occasionally. The children of this alliance are members of their mother's *okka*. It is usual for the *makka parijé* 'husband' to have a wife married to him in the normal way and living with him in his natal home. The children of the latter union, unlike the children of

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

makka parijé alliance, belong to their father's *okka*. Thus the *makka parijé* husband remains a member of his *natal* okka with a wife living with him, and in addition to this he undertakes to raise up seed for another *okka* which has no male heirs, but has instead only an unmarried girl. He only occasionally visits his *makka parijé* wife. *Makka parijé* has the sanction of custom behind it and it has to be distinguished clearly from extra-marital alliances which are disapproved.

7. Children normally and usually belong to their father's *okka*. Consequently the children of a divorcée, or a widow who wants to marry someone not belonging to her late husband's *okka*, do not follow their mother but continue to remain in their natal home. In certain exceptional circumstances, however, the children of a widow or divorcée are allowed to become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The unanimous consent of the children's natal *okka* as well as that of their mother's natal *okka* is required in order to effect the transfer. If such consent is forthcoming from both sides the children's rights in their natal *okka* are ritually severed, after which they are given *sammanda* in their mother's natal *okka*. The marriage of the widow or divorcée subsequent to the children being given *sammanda* in her natal *okka* does not affect their legal status. They do not follow the mother into her new husband's *okka*. This would again require the unanimous consent of the members of the mother's natal *okka* and her new husband's *okka*.

Rights of membership in an *okka* are an extremely important matter affecting all the members in a variety of ways, social, economic, legal, and ritual. Both the loss as well as the acquisition of a member make a profound difference in the day-to-day interrelations of members. The granting of membership and the loss of membership both become subject to *sammanda* ritual. *Sammanda* dramatically brings home to the parties concerned the implications of granting or withdrawing membership. As *sammanda* is a public occasion, the parties concerned in it will not be able to go back on it at a future date. The ritual that surrounds the giving or withdrawal of *sammanda* rights brings ritual sanctions into operation.

IV

The most frequent form of marriage is 'the marriage of a virgin' (*kanni mangala*), in which the bride leaves her natal *okka* and

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The groom's family friend who receives the eleven pebbles hands them over to the matron of honour who ties them up in a bundle. She ties the bundle to the frontal breast-knot (*molékaṭ*) of the bride. Just before the bride leaves for the groom's house this bundle is put into the box containing the bride's trousseau.

Nowadays it is not usual for the pebbles to be kept for any length of time. Neither do Coorgs regard these pebbles as sacred. But elderly informants consider that the pebbles *ought* to be kept in the groom's house and returned in the event of divorce or widowhood.

When a woman is returning to her natal *okka* on being divorced, or when a widow is returning to her natal *okka* preparatory to marrying someone who is not a member of her late husband's *okka*, the divorcée's or widow's connexion with her conjugal *okka* is ritually severed. This is referred to as 'giving up the pebbles' (*kallumbara kaipa*).[1] The bride's family friend and groom's family friend break the connexion in set formulas which are the same as those used in marriage but for certain necessary alterations.

In the *sammanda* ritual performed at the 'marriage of a virgin', the emphasis is on the fact of the bride obtaining rights in the groom's *okka*, and not on her losing her rights in her natal *okka*. When a widow or divorcée is returning to her natal *okka*, the *sammanda* ritual that is performed severs her connexion with her conjugal *okka*. In both cases, however, the loss of membership of an *okka* is accompanied by gaining membership of another. The difference in emphasis however leads to the one being described as the 'conferring of *sammanda*' and the other as the 'giving up of pebbles'.

Children normally belong to their father's *okka*, and they remain in their natal home even when their mother leaves her conjugal house on widowhood or divorce. Very young children, however, accompany their mother to her natal or new home, but they return to their father's house on attaining their third or fourth year.

When a divorcée (or widow who is remarrying into a different *okka* from her late husband's) is given permission to visit her children in their father's house, the eleven pebbles are not returned by the first husband's family friend to the family friend of her

[1] The same ceremony is also referred to as 'kal mara kaipa', i.e. 'giving up stone and tree'. Stone and tree are said to stand for the estate of the *okka* in question. See N. Chinnappa, op. cit., p. 508.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

natal *okka*. Her connexion with her conjugal house is, however, ritually severed with the usual formulas.

In some rare cases the children of a widow or divorcée are given rights in their mother's natal *okka*. In such a case the rights which the children have in their father's *okka* are ritually given up before they are acquired in their mother's natal *okka*. The pebbles are transferred from the family friend of the children's father's *okka* to the family friend of their mother's natal *okka*. The adopted son similarly loses his membership of his natal *okka* and acquires membership of the adoptive *okka*. The *okka parijé* husband also transfers himself from his natal *okka* to his conjugal *okka*. Pebbles are transferred in both the above instances.

The conferment as well as withdrawal of membership has important results on the relations of the various members towards each other. The ritual brings home to those present the meaning of what is taking place. Publicity is ensured by the presence of a few local and caste elders in addition to the representatives of the *okkas* concerned. Such publicity gives the event a certain finality. Lastly, as the ritual takes place in a very sacred part of the ancestral house, before the domestic deities and ancestors, solemnity is added to the occasion which is also invested with ritual sanctions.

VI

Sammanda constitutes the legal part of marriage: for instance, the bride will become a widow if the groom dies after *sammanda*, whereas his death before *sammanda* would not have such an effect on her.

It is usual for a Coorg widow to remarry. If, however, she is past middle age and has grown-up children, she does not remarry, but continues to stay in her late husband's house looking after her children.

A widow who wishes to remarry might marry either a brother, real or classificatory, of the late husband, or a total stranger. As mentioned earlier, there is a preference for leviratic unions among Coorgs, and where it is possible, a widow marries someone who is not only related as brother to her late husband, but also belongs to the same *okka* as him. In the latter event, no new *sammanda* is necessary.

The ritual conferment of membership has been described earlier,

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The goods which the bride, now widowed, brought into her conjugal house are then removed to the veranda. The widow's family friend selects two or three pieces of cloth from the widow's possessions and puts them into a box. He carries the box into the central hall and says, 'Since our girl ate here we should like to leave this box here'. The elders of the late husband's *okka* are theoretically free to accept or reject this gift. But in practice a definite sentiment seems to exist against its acceptance.[1]

VII

Coorg marriages are very stable, and divorce is not at all common. In fact, an exceptionally able and well-informed elder could not recall more than seven cases of divorce in the last fifty years. The most frequent ground for divorce seems to be adultery on the wife's part. Incompatibility between the husband and wife, impotence of the husband, cruelty, and lack of thrift on the wife's part are also grounds for divorce, though these seem to have been very rare. A wife was expected to obey the husband in most matters, and she worked under the supervision of the mistress of the house in matters of domestic economy, and consequently incompatibility and lack of thrift became significant only in rare cases.

Where a Coorg woman committed adultery with a member of an Untouchable caste she was summarily thrown out of caste. Adultery with a Coorg man was not as serious a matter, but still far from trivial. In the latter case, her husband was certain to turn her out of his house and her natal *okka* would be not at all friendly to her. If, however, her parents were alive, they would offer her shelter even though they strongly disapproved of what she had done.

The attitude of the public towards a divorcée is different from that towards a widow. Widowhood is a misfortune, decreed by God or the result of *karma*, whereas divorce reveals a serious flaw in the divorcée's character. This is natural enough if the woman has been divorced for adultery, or lack of thrift, or incompatibility. It is a woman's duty to adjust herself to her husband and his *okka*,

[1] Shri K. J. Chengappa tells me that where the widow has children by her first marriage and it is decided to allow these children to remain in their late father's *okka*, all the widow's goods are not removed to her natal *okka*. A good part is left in the late husband's *okka* because of the children. She takes to her second husband's house only a small part of her original trousseau.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

and failure to do so renders her suspect. It is fairly easy for a widow to secure a husband, while there is great reluctance to marrying a divorcée. Again, a widow is permitted to marry after a minimum period of six months have elapsed after the death of her husband, while a divorcée may remarry only after a year has elapsed since the granting of divorce. A widow is entitled to visit her children in their father's house, whereas a divorcée is not entitled to do so. Finally, a widow who has returned to her natal *okka* may marry again into her late husband's *okka*, whereas the doors of the former husband's *okka* are for ever shut to the divorcée.[1]

But the divorcée and widow are alike in this, that neither has a husband, and a woman, normally speaking, should not be without a husband. An unattached woman is a threat to the stability of existing social relations and to the moral code of the community. The widow and divorcée are both regarded with a certain amount of suspicion.

VIII

The children of an ordinary marriage are members of their father's *okka*. The fact of birth confers this all-important right on them and no special ceremony conferring membership is necessary. In *okka parijé* and *makka parijé* unions, however, the children belong to the natal *okka* of their mother, and this is only natural as the object of such alliances is the continuation of the mother's natal *okka*, threatened with extinction for lack of an agnatic male descendant.

The important fact is that the children of a sanctioned union are members of an *okka*, either their father's or mother's, and such membership they acquire by reason of birth. But the children of an unsanctioned union do not have membership in any *okka*, and they have to be given membership in either their father's or mother's *okka* some time subsequent to their birth.

In those rare cases where the existence of very special reasons lead to the children of a widow or divorcée being permitted to be transferred to their mother's *okka* from their father's *okka*, the unanimous consent of the members of both the concerned *okkas* is regarded as essential. After the widow or divorcée has been ritually

[1] A Coorg saw says that one may marry a widow but not a divorcée: *kețța poṇṇana bāvalu, buțța poṇṇana bāvakāga.*

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

severed from her conjugal *okka* the children are also severed from their paternal *okka*. While the widow or divorcée automatically reverts to her natal *okka*, her children have to be given rights at a special *sammanda* ceremony.[1]

If, however, the widow or divorcée marries again, the children do not follow her automatically into her new husband's *okka*. They are members of their mother's *okka*, and the unanimous consent of the members of their mother's *okka* and that of the members of the mother's new husband's *okka* is necessary to transfer them from one to the other.

Elders usually make efforts to ensure that the children of an unsanctioned union are given membership of their father's *okka*. It is clearly recognized that he who had the pleasure of being genitor has the duty of becoming pater as well, and this means that the children of an unsanctioned union have to be made members of the genitor's *okka*. Where, however, for various reasons the children cannot be given membership of their father's *okka*, they are given membership of their mother's *okka*. It is feared that if the children do not have membership in any *okka* people will refer to them contemptuously as 'the children born of adultery' (*mai kaṇat makka*).[2]

When a girl becomes pregnant as the result of union with a man not married to her, the girl's relatives press for recognition of the union. The man involved and his people might agree at once, in which case the girl's relatives have to go to the boys' home and give a feast to the relatives of the man and members of his village. The girl's relatives should carry with them all the provisions of this dinner, excepting mustard and salt.[3]

[1] The *sammanda* formulas used on this occasion are fundamentally similar to the formulas used in other cases. That is why I have not described them.

[2] In the folktale of Kanniaḍa Kāmayya, the boy Kāmayya's playmates refer to him contemptuously as 'one who is without a father'. Kāmayya is greatly hurt by this and tells his mother that he will fast unto death if the identity and whereabouts of his father are not disclosed. His mother tells him that he is miraculously born, and that his father is the very sacred axe (*chandrāyudha*) which is a symbol for a deity.

[3] Among Coorgs as among other patrilineal and patrilocal castes of south India, a girl has her first confinement in her natal home. The first confinement is believed to be a dangerous and critical affair, and it is considered best for the girl to have her mother and other relatives of her natal home with her at this time.

During the fifth or seventh month of a girl's first pregnancy, her mother and other relatives go to their affines carrying with them all the provisions of a

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

TABLE OF *SAMMANDA* RIGHTS

585
586
596

Serial No.	*Occasion*	*Subject of the rights*	*Where the subject had rights originally*	*Where now given*	*Remarks*
1.	The marriage of a virgin (*kanni mangala*).	Bride.	In her natal *okka*.	In the grooms' *okka*.	
2.	*The marriage of a widow*:				
	(*a*) To her dead husband's brother.	..	..	..	No rights are given as the widow already has rights in her new husband's *okka*. The recent tendency to give her rights anew in her new husband's *okka* shows that the elementary family is becoming more important among Coorgs.
	(*b*) When the new husband belongs to a different *okka* from her dead husband's.	Widow-bride.	In her dead husband's *okka*.	In the new husband's *okka*.	The widow's connexion with her dead husband's *okka* is first of all severed and this restores her to her natal *okka*. At her remarriage she is given rights in the new husband's *okka*.
3.	Divorce	Divorcée.			Her connexion with her husband's *okka* is severed and she then reverts to her natal *okka*.
4.	*Kolé adanga sammanda muripa*: when, in exceptional circumstances, it is intended to give the children of the widow or divorcée membership of	Widow or divorcée's children.	In their father's *okka*.	In their mother's *okka*.	Children normally are members of their father's *okka*, and only under exceptional circumstances are they transferred to

596
586

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Serial No.	Occasion	Subject of the rights	Where the subject had rights originally	Where now given	Remarks
	their mother's natal *okka*.				their mother's natal *okka*. Such transference requires the unanimous consent of the adult males of both the concerned *okkas*.
5.	Legitimization of a pre- or extra-marital *liaison*:				
	(*a*) *bendu parijé*, when both the parties are alive.	The woman concerned and her children.	The woman is a member of her natal *okka*, whereas her children do not have membership anywhere.	In the *okka* of the genitor.	
	(*b*) *kuṭṭa parijé*, when one of the parties to the *liaison* is dead.	do.	do.	do.	(*b*) The performance of *kuṭṭa parijé* enables the surviving partner to the *liaison* and the children to take part in the funeral rites for the dead person.
6.	(*a*) *Okka parijé*.	Son-in-law.	In his natal *okka*.	In his wife's natal *okka*.	(*a*) The consent of the son-in-law and of all the adult males in his *okka* is necessary to effect the transfer.
	(*b*) *makka parijé*.	do.	do.	do.	(*b*) The son-in-law retains his membership of his natal *okka* in *makka parijé*. The children of both *okka parijé* and *makka parijé* are members of their mother's natal *okka*.

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AW5 Coorg AW5

614 587 first husband's sib are extinguished with the formulas given in Appendix I, and in her father's house she is given to her new husband with the sammanda ceremony. A woman regains a
614 permanent place in her original sib only by divorce. This may
● 586 happen if she is grossly and persistently immoral or if she and her husband are continually at odds with one another (the former is much the more usual cause). In such cases the aruvēs of the two families (see ref. [1], p. 130) negotiate between the two parties and if both families agree to a divorce, the woman relinquishes all claims to a place in her husband's sib and may never regain it by another marriage into that sib. She regains a place in her father's sib and keeps it, unless as rarely happens she should be sought in marriage by another man from another sib. My informant emphasized significantly that the woman is readmitted to her original sib not automatically but only if the sib is persuaded to agree to it. In the sammanda ceremony by a piece of symbolism the woman retains the right of readmission [585] to her original sib. The aruvē of the groom's party is given by her party eleven out of twelve pebbles; the remaining one is kept by her sib. This right to readmission is exercised in case [764] of divorce or of remarriage if her first husband dies. It carries with it only one other right in her father's sib, viz. if she should die in the house of her parents and the burial-ground of her husband's sib should be at an inconvenient distance, she may be buried [851] in that of her father's sib. Children by a woman's first husband always remain members of his sib, whether or not she leaves it by divorce or remarriage into another sib. If at the time of her leaving her husband's sib any children should be too young to fend for themselves, she may retain charge of them until they attain an age when they can care for themselves, when they return to the house of their own sib.

613 Marriage is forbidden also between a couple who are related to one another by descent through females only from a common female ancestor. There is not however among the Coorgs the same division of the people among female lines that I have elsewhere described for the Todas.[1] It seems probable from my informant's accounts that the relationships in female lines tend to be remembered for a comparatively small number of generations and even in some cases to be neglected when they are remembered, if it is considered that the degree of relationship is not close enough to hinder marriage. What degree would be considered distant enough to allow of intermarriage I could not elicit with any accuracy, but it seems that three or four degrees might be sufficiently distant, i.e. a relationship that is traced back through females to a common great-grandmother or great-great-grandmother. The proverb quoted in the fifth paragraph below refers also to this type of marriage. 2/1

[1] American Anthropologist, 39, 103–112.

2/1 [see cat. 116, pp. 142–144 – Analyst] 2/1 [see p129]

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938.
AW5 Coorg AW5

585 and is unable to touch cooking utensils and causes her family
[114] inability to take part in ceremonies as does a woman after child-birth is definitely untrue and is vigorously contradicted by my informants. After a short period her husband is invited by her family and with a companion he comes and takes her to his house and thereafter she lives there.

[587] Of the two ceremonies, mu:rta and sammanda, the latter ceremony is performed at every marriage. The former can be performed for a woman only once in her life, however many times she marries, and so is not done when she remarries. For a man, on the other hand, it is performed each time he marries. Consequently, if a widower marries a widow, the mu:rta is performed for him alone and on the following day the sammanda is performed, giving the woman rights in his sib.

114 In giving this account of the institutions and ceremonies of Coorg marriages I have in many places tacitly corrected previous accounts, especially that given by Richter. On examining his description it was found that very many of the details as given by him were vigorously contradicted by my informants. It has not seemed necessary to draw attention in most cases to the discrepancy between my account and his. My account has been carefully checked with a number of Coorgs of some age and experience and from a number of localities within the large district whose institutions I have described. It will be found, I think, that wherever my account and Richter's disagree, mine may be accepted as correct.

115 The main part of the information presented was furnished by Mrry. K. Calappa Avl., retired sub-magistrate and additional sub-judge, Mercara, Coorg, to whom I must record my gratitude for this and for the linguistic information which he gave me
12 freely over a period of eight months in 1936-37. His information
114 was supplemented for this paper by many conversations with other Coorgs and by attending and making notes at several weddings to which I was hospitably invited.

Appendix I.

Readmission of a woman to her father's sib.

586 If a widow wishes to marry a man of a different sib from that of her
587 first husband, or if, as happens rarely, she wishes because of ill-treatment
614 to return to her father's house, a ceremony of readmission to her father's
796 sib and renunciation of all claims to a part in her first husband's sib is necessary. After all arrangements have been made, a formal ceremony (called kallupara kaypō 'the ceremony of the pebbles') takes place at the nellaki of her first husband's house. Representatives of the two sibs and the aruvēs of the two sibs gather. The movable property of the woman, her clothes, etc., are brought to the nellaki. The parties separate into two lines as in the sammanda, and the aruvē of the woman's sib
[539] says: daṇḍu kaḍe na:ḍo:mu:illavē nu:bendu: aggēnaruvēnu: na:lu kaṭṭi nindiru:.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

'People of the district in two parties and people of the house and relatives and aruvõs, have you formed lines and stood?' (The wording as given is slightly different from that of the introductory sentence of the sammanda, but the intent is identical, and either wording or others still different may be used at either ceremony.)

The aruvi of the husband's sib: nindi:tш.
'They have stood.'

Aruvi of the woman's sib: a:nak(a) ikka—[woman's sib-name] okaḍa co:makõ: nd(ш) õṇṇuvõ kuññi—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa apõyyõ: nd(ш) õṇṇuvõ kuññira ba:lш ba:ko bandalli apõyyõ: nd(ш) õṇṇuvõ kuññira a:yisa korn a:yitu: co:makõ: nd(ш) õṇṇuvõ kuññira adrusṭa kõṭad(ш) a:yitu: patш ka:la baddш ba:võkш ruṇa illata:naṇguṇḍш inda:kaṇe niṇgaḍa pommaka maka: nd(ш) õṇṇitiñjõ co:makõ: nd(ш) õṇṇuvõ kuññina poṇṇш kõṭate:ṇgi ta:mane:[1] ndш bayyakш ka:kiaṇḍш po:luva:.

'If so, after the child called Co:makõ of the—sib came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apõyyõ of the—sib, his life having become short and her luck having become bad, because it was not their destiny having ruled to rule the house for more (lit. ten) years, now according to the saying: "If a woman has fallen into trouble, her father's house (is the place for her)," may we go taking back the child called Co:makõ who up to today was said to be a wife among you?'

Aruvi of husband's sib: kш:na:ḷш maria:di annane.
'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvi of woman's sib: a:naka co:makõ: nd(ш) õṇṇuvõ kuññi apõyyõ: nd(ш) õṇṇuvõ kuññira ba:ḷш ba:ko bapaka aññш:rш bira: nшra poṭiлш a:yira bira:nшra ma:luna sa:laḍaṇga ba:laḍaṇga terakiaṇḍш bandaṇḍa uṇḍitш uḍutitш miñjuna:na bayyak(ш) õḍшtaṇḍш po:luva:.

'If so, what is left over, after her eating meals and wearing the clothes, of all the jewels and clothes worth 1000 pagoda-coins in the box worth 500 pagoda-coins which the child called Co:makõ brought with her when she came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apõyyõ, may we go taking it back?'

Aruvi of husband's sib: kш:na:ḷш maria:di annane.
'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvi of woman's sib: idari sa:kaipaṇa.
'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the husband's aruvõ.

Aruvi of the husband's sib: ba:tш. a:naka co:mavvõ:[2] nd(ш) õṇṇuvõ kuññi apõyyõ: nd(ш) õṇṇuvõ kuññira va:ḷш ba:ko bandalli co:mavvõṇgш ou:dшk(ш) irumbш euṇḍekш modalш onḍшtoṭш nu:ro:la—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manelш sammanda koḍupaka—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manelш co:mavvõṇg(ш) iñjõ sammandatшna kovvañji niṇga tandõ pannandaci ponn(ш) idari. boci tapa.

'I have received them (lit. it came). If so, here! take the eleven gold coins which you gave on taking sib-rights which were Co:mavvõ's in the house of the—sib when we gave to Co:mavvõ rights in the house of the—sib to (all things, even to) the iron for making needles, among the articles

[1] The proverb has a second sentence: a:ṇш kõṭate:ṇgi aramane 'if a man gets into trouble, prison (lit. the palace; sc. is the place for him).'

[2] The husband's party use the name that the woman had in his house, with the -avvõ termination, while the woman's party have been using the form suitable to an unmarried girl, by which she was known to them before her marriage.

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2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

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even as small as the cuṇḍe-fruit, all from one to one hundred, after the child called Co:mavvé came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apéyyé. We will give (the coins).' With these words he hands over eleven pebbles.

Aruvé of woman's sib: ba:tu.
'I have received them (lit. they came).'
Aruvé of husband's sib: idari sa:ksipana.
'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the woman's aruvé.
Aruvé of woman's sib: ba:tu.
'I have received them.'

After this ceremony the woman is taken with her belongings to her father's house.

If she should be leaving her husband by divorce, much the same formulas are used, the main difference being in giving the reason for her leaving.

APPENDIX II.

Coorg kinship terminology.

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The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system. A summary of the Coorg system follows:

1. There is no self-reciprocating terminology. In Ego's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins on the one hand and his classificatory cross-cousins on the other are indicated by terms which denote age older than himself and younger than himself respectively. Consequently, none of the terms used within Ego's generation are self-reciprocals.

2. No term is found denoting an individual whose sex is unspecified. Collectives which class the sexes together are found in three cases (see U, Y, and Z in Table 2).

3. Siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are classed together in each generation.

4. In Ego's generation a dichotomy is made in classification on the basis of age elder or younger than himself (see 1). In the first ascending generation, Ego's father's male siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age older or younger than the father's, and Ego's mother's female siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the mother's.

5. The father is distinguished from his brothers, and the mother from her sisters.

6. Ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations show a use of terms perfectly in accord with a strict system of cross-cousin marriage. Further, no terminological distinction is made between siblings and classificatory parallel cousins of any degree of remoteness, or between classificatory cross-cousins of any degree of remoteness. Consequently, in the first ascending generation there is a separate term (G) for the father's sisters and parallel female cousins, and this is used also for the mother's female cross-cousins and her male siblings' and parallel male cousins' wives. Similarly, there is a separate term (J) for the mother's brothers and parallel male cousins, and this is used also for the father's male cross-cousins and his female siblings' and parallel female cousins' husbands. In Ego's generation the classification of cross-cousin applies to all the children of those in the first ascending generation who are classed according to the preceding two sentences. In the first descending generation a distinction is made between two groups, (a) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the same sex as oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the opposite sex from oneself (these are classed with Ego's

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AWs Coorg AW5

585 three pebbles which he binds to the hem of her garment. This is a token of sealing her right to her husband's property. The bridegroom then takes the bride by the hand and leads her out of the house. This act of possession forms the principal part of the ceremony.

[576] As a mark of respect, he makes his obeisance to those assembled by touching their feet. In like manner, the wife fetches a pot of water from the well to the kitchen and carries a basket of manure to the nearest field and then returns to her room to indicate her willingness to share in the labours of the house. The Aruva then takes the bridegroom to the room [551] of his wife, and thenceforth, while she remains in his house as his wife, [583] she bears a new name, but will always be called by a familiar one under the parental roof. The married daughter receives from her parents a certain dowry and a good bed, but thenceforth she has no claim on the family property.

585 178 In bygone days, there was a custom of so called cloth marriage. Kittel writes that a man gave a cloth to a girl, and she, accepting it, became his wife without any further ceremonies. He might dismiss her at any time [586] out being under the least obligation of providing either for her or the children born during connection. [643] Lingayat Rajas, who being unable to obtain as many girls for his harem as he wished from wanton selfishness put a stop to it.

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[74 726 595] have been exterminated under such a state of affairs. But if the surviving brothers were to become the rightful husbands of the widows, a second and an undiminished generation might in time take the place of the fallen. In more recent times, the Rajas used to keep a large number of armed men constantly in attendance on themselves. They were absent from home for weeks and months. On their return, their brothers would have to go to the Palace or accompany the Raja on some hunting or fighting expedition. The brothers at home would then take the place of the absent from home [428] and family. It is clear that the law of inheritance by the sister's son is unknown among the Coorgs. This, according to Richter, affords the strongest proof that polyandry is no Coorg custom.

Widow Marriage

587 Widows may remarry. Should any of the deceased husband's brothers choose to marry her, he may do so or she may be married to any other man. By doing so, she acquires the rights of the second husband and relinquishes all interest in her late husband's property, but not in her children. A second marriage is celebrated in a quiet manner and only the nearer relatives and some of the villagers are invited to the marriage feast. The strewing of rice and other ceremonies are dispensed with. After the removal of signs of widowhood, the bride appears in the apparel of married life.

Divorce

586 A man can divorce an unfaithful wife, but a wife has no remedy against her husband in case of his faithlessness. The Takkas, the Aruva of the house, the Takkas of the village, and some members of the wife's family with her Aruva meet in the hall of the husband's house, when as at betrothal the lamp is put between them; and the Aruva solemnly relinquishes the wife's claim to the husband's property. The children remain in the father's house and the unhappy woman returns with all her belongings to the parental roof. It has to be stated to the credit of Coorg women that such events are very rare.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

844 A woman's first confinement takes place at her mother's house whither she returns after the seventh month of pregnancy. There are no professional midwives among them. The women of the household who have 846 experience for their guidance render all the assistance. A few hours after birth she is bathed in very hot water, and with the abdomen well bound up, she is brought to bed in a lying posture in the best room of the house. This practice is quite at variance with what prevails among other Hindus [783] who relegate a woman in childbirth to an outhouse. Though the period of pollution lasts for seven days, a woman enjoys immunity from all house-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

581 from fallen nature; but we are not at liberty to record those solitary outbursts of evil passions as an established system or even custom; Hindus might as well regard the disclosures of our divorce-courts as the normal state of European matrimony. Whilst thus vindicating the honor of the married life of the Coorgs, I would not flatter their pride; but rather induce them to render and to maintain their family-hearths pure and honorable withal and to infuse also a better spirit into their public feasts, those popular schools of morality, from which all foul and indecent ribaldry should be banished for ever.

595 *Polygamy* is not prohibited amongst the Coorgs, but it seldom occurs and chiefly in cases, where the first marriage is not blessed with male issue. It also happens, that a young widow is taken to wife by another member of the same house, but this is a voluntary engagement on either part, and the woman loses all claim to her first husband's property, being now the wife of another.

687 567 564 582 The odd expression "*Sirkar wives*" refers to a tyrannical practice of the Rajahs, who, when severely punishing a Coorg house, exterminated all the men and reduced the women to a state of slavery, making them to work on the Sirkar farms or Panyas. Any low caste fellow, who applied for a wife to the Rajah, might then obtain one of these poor creatures, and such marriages may account for the comparatively fair and handsome appearance of many a low caste native of Coorg.

586 624 *Divorce* on account of unfaithfulness is a recognised institution and solemnly carried out by the Aruvas of the unhappy couple and by the Takkas of the village. The children remain in the father's house, the mother returns with all her belongings to the house of her parents. Should a reconciliation take place, the husband of a restored wife is looked down upon with contempt. No refutation of the alleged "communism of women" could be stronger than these facts.